

REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS

FOR THE

Week ending the 30th July 1892.

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

No.	Names of newspapers.	Place of publication.	Reported number of subscribers.	Dates of papers received and examined for the week.
BENGALI.				
<i>Fortnightly.</i>				
1	"Ahmadí" ...	Tangail, Mymensingh	600	12th July 1892.
2	"Bankura Darpan" ...	Bankura	....
3	"Kaliyuga" ...	Calcutta	....
4	"Kasipur Nivási" ...	Kasipur, Barisál	280	
5	"Navamihir" ...	Ghatail, Mymensingh	500	13th ditto.
6	"Sadar-o-Mufassal" ...	Tahirpur, Rajshahi	....
7	"Ulubaria Darpan" ...	Ulubaria	700	
<i>Tri-monthly.</i>				
8	"Hitakari" ...	Kushtia	800	24th ditto.
<i>Weekly.</i>				
9	"Bangavási" ...	Calcutta	20,000	23rd ditto.
10	"Banganivási" ...	Ditto	8,000	22nd ditto.
11	"Burdwán Sanjivani" ...	Burdwan	335	19th ditto.
12	"Cháruvartá" ...	Sherepore, Mymensingh	400	18th ditto.
13	"Dacca Prakash" ...	Dacca	2,200	24th ditto.
14	"Education Gazette" ...	Hooghly	825	22nd ditto.
15	"Gramvási" ...	Ramkrishnapore, Howrah	1,000	20th ditto.
16	"Hindu Ranjiká" ...	Boalia, Rajshahi	212	
17	"Hitavadi" ...	Calcutta	....	21st ditto.
18	"Murshidábád Pratinidhi" ...	Berhampore	....	23rd ditto.
19	"Navayuga" ...	Calcutta	500	
20	"Prakriti" ...	Ditto	....	22nd ditto.
21	"Pratikar" ...	Berhampore	609	
22	"Prithivi" ...	Calcutta	....	14th ditto.
23	"Rangpur Dikprakash" ...	Kakinia, Rangpur	....
24	"Sahachar" ...	Calcutta	800-1,000	20th ditto.
25	"Sahayogi" ...	Barisál	342	
26	"Sakti" ...	Dacca	....	24th ditto.
27	"Samáj-o-Sáhitya" ...	Garibpore, Nadia	1,000	
28	"Samaya" ...	Calcutta	3,000	22nd ditto.
29	"Sanjivani" ...	Ditto	4,000	23rd ditto.
30	"Sansodhini" ...	Chittagong	....	23rd ditto.
31	"Saraswat Patra" ...	Dacca	300	
32	"Som Prakash" ...	Calcutta	600	25th ditto.
33	"Srimanta Sadagar" ...	Ditto	....	22nd ditto.
34	"Sudhakar" ...	Ditto	3,100	
35	"Sulabh Samáchar" ...	Ditto	....
<i>Daily.</i>				
36	"Banga Vidyá Prakashiká" ...	Calcutta	500	22nd, 23rd, 25th and 26th July 1892.
37	"Bengal Exchange Gazette" ...	Ditto	....	22nd, 26th, and 27th July 1892.
38	"Dainik-o-Samáchar Chandriká" ...	Ditto	1,000	24th to 28th July 1892.
39	"Samvád Prabhákar" ...	Ditto	1,500	22nd, 23rd and 25th to 27th July 1892.
40	"Samvád Purnachandrodaya" ...	Ditto	300	22nd, 23rd and 25th to 28th ditto.
41	"Sulabh Dainik" ...	Ditto	....	22nd and 26th to 28th ditto.
ENGLISH AND BENGALI.				
<i>Weekly.</i>				
42	"Dacca Gazette" ...	Dacca	....	25th July 1892.

No.	Names of newspapers.	Place of publication.	Reported number of subscribers.	Date of papers received and examined for the week.
HINDI.				
<i>Monthly.</i>				
43	"Darjeeling Mission ke Másik Samáchár Patrika."	Darjeeling	50	
44	"Kshatriya Patriká"	Patna	250	
<i>Weekly.</i>				
45	"Aryávarta"	Calcutta	750	
46	"Bihar Bandhu"	Bankipore	500	21st July 1892.
47	"Bhárat Mitra"	Calcutta	1,200	21st ditto.
48	"Champaran Chandrika"	Bettiah	350	
49	"Desí Vyápári"	Calcutta	.....
50	"Hindi Bangavási"	Ditto	.....	25th ditto.
51	"Sár Sudhánidhi"	Ditto	500	
52	"Uchit Baktá"	Ditto	4,500	
URDU.				
<i>Weekly.</i>				
53	"Al Punch"	Bankipore	.....	25th ditto.
54	"Anis"	Patna	.....
55	"Calcutta Punch"	Calcutta	.....
56	"Darussaltanat and Urdu Guide"	Ditto	340	22nd ditto.
57	"General and Gauhariasfi"	Ditto	.....	25th ditto.
58	"Mehre Monawar"	Muzaffarpur	.....
59	"Raisul-Akhbari-Murshidabad"	Murshidabad	150	
60	"Setare Hind"	Arrah	.....
61	"Shokh"	Monghyr	.....
URIYA.				
<i>Monthly.</i>				
62	"Asha"	Cuttack	165	
63	"Echo"	Ditto	.....
64	"Pradíp"	Ditto	.....
65	"Samyabadi"	Ditto	.....
66	"Taraka and Subhavártá"	Ditto	.....
67	"Utkalprána"	Mayurbhunj	.....	For the month of Falgun B.S. 1298.
<i>Weekly.</i>				
68	"Dipaka"	Cuttack	.....
69	"Samvad Váhika"	Balasore	200	30th June 1892.
70	"Uriya and Navasamvád"	Ditto	420	29th ditto.
71	"Utkal Dípiká"	Cuttack	420	2nd July 1892.
PAPERS PUBLISHED IN ASSAM.				
BENGALI.				
<i>Fortnightly.</i>				
72	"Paridarshak"	Sylhet	480	
73	"Silchar"	Silchar	500	11th July 1892.
<i>Weekly.</i>				
74	"Srihatta Mihir"	Sylhet	332	

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—Police.

Bholanath Das, of 104 Grey Street, Calcutta, writing in the *Sulabh Dainik*, of the 26th July, says that in investigating the murder of Mahim Chandra Chakravarti of Gopalpur in the 24-Parganas, the police first took into custody, Nakur Chandra Chakravarti and Kedar Nath Chakravarti on mere suspicion, and released them after detention for nearly 24 hours; and again, on Saturday last, took into custody, Nakur Chandra Chakravarti, Sárthak Kaora, Kedar Nath Chakravarti, Sasibhusan Chakravarti, Upendra Nath Chakravarti, Sarat Kumari, and Sasibhusan Ghosh, but released them. It is not clear whether the last named persons were arrested on suspicion of complicity in the murder or for some other reason. It ought to be enquired whether the officer who took them into custody had authority to do so. It is strange that the police have not up to the present time been able to trace the perpetrators of the crime.

SULABH DAINIK,
July 26th, 1892.

(b)—Working of the Courts.

2. A correspondent of the *Kasipur Nivási*, of the 12th July, says that under the High Court order, No. 372, dated the 4th February 1871, summonses issued in suits for arrears of rent do not contain the dates fixed for the hearing of those suits, but simply ask the defendants to appear in court two weeks after the date of their service. This causes very great inconvenience to the raiyats. In the first place, these summonses are served by ignorant peons, who are not very particular about dates and put whatever dates they like in their returns. And it therefore happens that cases are sometimes disposed of before the date which, according to the raiyat's calculation, is the date fixed for their hearing. In the second place, it often becomes difficult to ascertain whether or not the date of service of summons and the date of hearing should be included within the time, two weeks, mentioned in the summonses. It also happens that either from pressure of business or from some other cause, the Munsifs themselves make mistakes in fixing dates for the hearing of the rent suits, and the raiyat has to attend court for several days before the date of hearing in order that he may not miss the right date. One consequence of this state of things is an increase in the number of *chhuni* (re-trial) cases. Thus, instead of lightening the work of the court, the High Court order referred to above tends to make it heavier. It is therefore hoped that the High Court will fairly consider the matter and cancel its order on the subject. It will certainly be a better arrangement to mention in the summonses the dates fixed for the hearing of rent suits.

KASIPUR NIVASI,
July 12th, 1892.

Mr. Phillips in the Mymensingh case.

3. The *Ulubaria Darpan* of the 13th July, referring to the trial of Raja Suryya Kanta Acharyya, makes the following observations:—

ULUBARIA DARPAN,
July 13th, 1892.

How is it that the Lieutenant-Governor has not yet taken any steps in the matter, although he has been informed of the gross oppression which has been committed in this case? How is it that His Honour is bringing discredit on himself by keeping such a Magistrate in his office? Did not His Honour once say—"If I ever ascend the Bengal musnad, I will make all officers, from the Commissioner down to the subdivisional peon, feel that a man is reigning at Belvedere"? And is it not a fact, O Lieutenant-Governor, that the civilians feared you at the commencement of your administration? If so, how is it that an oppressive man like Mr. Phillips is evading punishment after having harassed a man like Raja Suryya Kanta? Has not your Honour obtained proof of Mr. Phillips' unfitness for his post?

Government's civil suits.

4. The *Burdwan Sanjivani*, of the 19th July, has the following:—

BURDWAN SANJIVANI,
July 19th, 1892.

The failure of a large number of Government civil suits has called forth an expression of dissatisfaction from the Lieutenant-Governor. As ordinary people sometimes have recourse to fraud and falsehood in order to bolster up their cases, it is no wonder that they should lose them as often as not. But the case is different with Government. Government can never be supposed to

institute cases unjustly and so it ought to gain all its cases, the more so, as its cases are conducted by the best Pleaders and Barristers, and are managed by the District Magistrates. The loss of Government's suits can, therefore, be accounted for on two suppositions. Either the judicial officers decide cases wrongly, or the Government itself institutes unjust suits. But neither of these suppositions is creditable to Government. If the loss of Government's suits be owing to any fault in the Judges, special attention should be paid to the subject of increasing their efficiency.

BURDWAN SANJIVANI,
July 19th, 1892.

5. The same paper approves of the transfer of the Munsif's court from Bud-Bud to Mankar, a village in the district of Burdwan. Mankar is a flourishing village and ought to have a Munsif's court. But the abolition of the Bud-Bud *Chauki*, now under consideration, will result in much local inconvenience. It will, no doubt, save Government the salary of a Munsif, but it will, at the same time, increase the inconveniences of the people.

PRATIKAR,
July 22nd, 1892.

The Azimganj Munsifi in the
Murshidabad district.

6. The *Pratikar*, of the 22nd July, says that Government had determined to abolish the Azimganj Munsifi in the Murshidabad district, but has, on the recommendation of the District Judge, decided to keep it with a jurisdiction enlarged by the inclusion in it of the Noada thána. The people of Noada have objected to this scheme, and not unreasonably. The Daulatabad thána being nearer the Azimganj Munsifi than the Naoda thána, Government should include in the Munsifi a part of the Naoda thána and the whole of the Daulatabad thána. There will be no objection to such an arrangement.

SAMAY,
July 22nd, 1892.

7. The *Samaya*, of the 22nd July, reports the following case tried by the Assistant Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, and in which Mr. Hickley, Manager of the Muhammadpur Factory, was complainant, and Nara Singh Misra, Chaitan Misra, and four others were defendants :—

The facts of the case are as follows :—On the 30th May last Mr. Hickley went out for a ride, and some people attacked him with *lathis*, &c. It was proved by his deposition that he identified the defendants not from personal knowledge, but from information given by his servants. On the day preceding the assault upon him, he had pulled Chaitan Misra by the ear and kicked him, and it is his impression that the assault was committed by Chaitan's men and at Chaitan's instigation. After the examination of the witnesses for the prosecution was finished, the accused asked the Magistrate to issue warrants against their witnesses. The Magistrate refused to do so, although the necessary warrant fees were deposited in court, and sentenced the accused to six months' imprisonment each, without taking into consideration the provocation which they had received at the hands of Mr. Hickley. Mr. Hickley had received no personal injury whatever, and yet the accused were heavily punished.

SAMAY.

8. A correspondent of the same paper says that recently a lot of men were criminally prosecuted at the instance of some Munsiffs in the district of Howrah, on the charge of non-attendance at court as witnesses. The Deputy Magistrates who tried them were compelled to let them off for want of evidence. It appeared in the course of their trial, that in some cases summonses had not been at all served, and in others the defendants were actually present in court but not called. This shows that before ordering the prosecution, the Munsiffs did not even take the trouble of looking over the records. People say that the Munsiffs ordered these prosecutions, simply because the order came from the authorities requiring them to prosecute witnesses who do not appear in court on the day of trial.

SUDHAKAR,
July 22nd, 1892.

Hindu Judges of Muhammadan
cases.

9. A correspondent of the *Sudhakar*, of the 22nd July, says that unruly Hindu youths, fresh from college, and born and bred up in a community in which widows cannot marry, daughters are not allowed a share in their father's property, and a husband cannot divorce his faithless wife, cannot be expected to decide satisfactorily complicated cases involving questions relating to Muhammadan marriage, *akf*, divorce, *kabin*, and inheritance. To say nothing of Hindu youths, even Hindu officers of good education and mature years are

found to betray a curious ignorance of the Mussulman religion and usages. The writer once heard a Hindu Deputy Magistrate drawing a salary of Rs. 600 a month, and possessing a very good knowledge of the English language and literature, stoutly maintain that he had read in Sale's *Koran*, that women were not privileged to enter Paradise. Knowing that the English Government has the welfare of the Mussulman community at heart, the writer makes bold to suggest that, without interfering with the competitive examination system, Government should appoint a Mussulman Munsif and a Mussulman Deputy Magistrate at the head-quarters of every district, for the decision of complicated Muhammadan cases. Good, rather than evil, will result from governing every community according to its own peculiar social and religious rules. It would be unfair to decide the question of the *moharana* of a Mussulman wife with reference to Hindu usages, and the question of the divorce of a Hindu wife with reference to English usage.

10. The *Sanjivani*, of the 23rd July, asks if Mr. Phillips on being snubbed by Government has taken refuge with the *Pioneer*, and is writing articles in that paper in self-defence. The writer can hardly refrain from pointing out the following flaws in the *Pioneer's* advocacy of Mr. Phillips, in the case which was instituted by him against Babu Sarat Chandra Rai of Sararchar in the Mymensingh district, (see R. N. P. for 18th June, paragraph 7):—

SANJIVANI,
July 23rd, 1892.

(1) Mr. Phillips was informed on the 26th January that his box was missing, and he issued a search warrant that very day. A search was made on the 28th January, but the box had been found two days before. Was not this search, made after the alleged stolen property had been found, a proof of Mr. Phillips' vindictiveness, and was it not illegal?

(2) Mr. Phillips gave a warrant to Head-constable Dwarkanath Rai for the arrest of Babu Sarat Chandra Rai and his companions. Was not the issuing of this warrant, without the names of the persons to be arrested specifically mentioned in it, an illegal action on Mr. Phillips' part?

(3) The warrant of arrest was issued on the 26th January, but, on the very next day and before receiving any final report from the police, Mr. Phillips issued a proclamation requiring Babu Sarat Chandra's appearance before him within thirty days of the date of the proclamation, and in that same day issued an order for the seizure of his property. Was not this *zulm* and high-handedness on Mr. Phillips' part?

(4) It was stated in the search warrant that the rooms and the *dálán* in Sarat Babu's house are used as a depository for stolen goods. Was not this imputation on the character of a respectable man like Sarat Babu sheer *zulm* on Mr. Phillips' part?

(5) The Magistrate was complainant in the case, and yet it was he himself who issued the warrants and the proclamation. Was this legal and just?

(6) The scene of action was in the Kishoreganj subdivision of the district, and the case should have been sent to the subdivisional officer of Kishoreganj for disposal, but Mr. Phillips sent it to the Assistant Magistrate at the head-quarters for trial. Does not this mean that Mr. Phillips had some motive in having it tried by the officer at head-quarters?

(7) The pleader for the defence had a private talk with Mr. Phillips, after which the latter wrote to the Assistant Magistrate to let off Sarat Babu with a slight punishment. Does not this mean that after his vengeful feelings had been gratified, Mr. Phillips saw it fit to let off Sarat Babu without subjecting him to further persecution?

11. The *Bangavasi*, of the 23rd July, says that many people will probably be surprised to hear that Mr. Fisher of Muzaffarpur has sentenced each of the accused in the Hickley case to six months' imprisonment, although the charge against them was one of simple assault; and will perhaps say that there has been a failure of justice in the case. The writer does not know whether under the law the sentence has been just or unjust; but he must say that severe punishments like that dealt out in the present case are always inflicted whenever a European is assaulted or an attempt is made to assault a

BANGAVASI,
July 23rd, 1892.

European. But this is perhaps as it should be, because, if it were otherwise, it would be impossible for the handful of Europeans in the country to carry on their business in the mufassal in the midst of a populace so large; and for a handful of Englishmen to govern the country. The result of the case has not at all surprised the writer; he would rather have been surprised if the case had resulted otherwise.

(c)—Jails.

ULUBARIA DARPAN,
July 13th, 1892.

12. The *Ulubaria Darpan*, of the 13th July, cannot see why dying prisoners should not after their release from jail, be permitted to be treated at the charitable hospital.

A Jail rule.

If they are released on considerations of humanity and kindness, why are they to be deprived of the benefit of public charity? It is hard to understand the nature of that humanity and kindness which have inspired this order of the Government. Is it the intention of Government that after their release from jail, prisoners should die for want of treatment? Or does it simply want to save jail expenditure by letting off those who have been incapacitated for work? If this last be Government's real motive, let it throw its kindness to the dogs.

(d)—Education.

BANGANIVASI,
July 22nd, 1892.

13. The *Banganivasi*, of the 22nd July, says that every action of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor shows that he is not afraid of the people. The people clearly see that His Honour's sentiment towards them is not

Sir Charles Elliott on high education.

that of an elder brother towards a younger, but that of one step-brother towards another. Is it His Honour's affection for his younger brother that has led him to aim a blow at high education? In his Bankura speech His Honour said that the funds devoted to high education ought to be gradually diverted to the encouragement of primary education, and that though the public may not like such diversion, His Honour is convinced of its necessity. The encouragement of primary education to the prejudice of high education may be good 'civilian' policy, but will not certainly be for the good of the people.

PRATIKAR,
July 22nd, 1892.

14. The *Pratikal*, of the 22nd July, says that the Berhampore College is practically closed. The posts of two or three professors have remained vacant for some time,

The Berhampore College.

and two professors have fallen ill. The Professor of Science left the college about a month-and-a-half ago and no one has yet been appointed in his place. The B. L. classes have not yet been opened. Babu Ram Chandra Mozumdar declined to be paid only by the students' fees and resigned. The boys come to college and return home immediately after.

SANJIVANI,
July 23rd, 1892.

15. Referring to the students' party at Belvedere on the 20th July last, the *Sanjivani*, of the 23rd July, says that about four

The students' party at Belvedere.

hundred students of the Calcutta colleges assembled at the Darbár Hall on that day, and were most cordially received by the Lieutenant-Governor and his courtiers. Lady Elliott, too, was present in the hall, and was very courteous to the young guests. Several native notabilities and some European officials were also present.

SANJIVANI.

16. The same paper says that the head-master of the Sasarám school in the Shahabad district is a European who used to get Rs. 100 per month, but who was neither a

The head-master of the Sasarám school in the Shahabad district.

graduate, nor was in any way connected with the Education Department. During his late tour in Bihár, Sir Charles Elliott visited the school, and not being satisfied with the work done by the head-master intimated to the Director of Public Instruction that a man not connected with the Education Department should not be kept at the head of the school. After this intimation, the salary of the head-master has been reduced to Rs. 75 per month. It is true a saving of Rs. 300 a year has been made, but whether a man who possesses no collegiate education ought to be kept at the head of a school is a question which has not been decided. Mr. Tawney ought to decide it.

17. The *Prakriti*, of the 23rd July, refers to Sir Alfred Croft's letter forwarding to Government the *Tol* report of Pandit Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna, and observes as follows:—

PRAKRITI,
July 23rd, 1892.

Some of the vernacular papers have discovered in this letter, an intention on the part of Government to ruin the Hindu religion. That Government has been hitherto unable to exercise any control over Hindu society is, say these papers, because it is afraid of the pandits; and it is therefore now anxious to win over the pandit class by subsidising a few among them. But no one surely can accuse the English of cowardice. And if there ever was any doubt on the point, it was dispelled on the occasion of the passing of the Consent Act. If the English had regarded the Brahman class with any degree of fear, they could not have passed the Consent Act in the teeth of so much opposition from the pandit class. It is also clear from Sir Alexander Miller's reply to Kumar Vinay Krishna's letter on the subject of sea-voyages by Hindus, that Government does not wish the destruction of Hindu society, or of the Hindu religion. If Government had cherished any such intention, it would have taken steps to win over to its side the principal pandits of all the celebrated seats of Sanskrit learning in the country, instead of contenting itself with subsidising only three pandits of Navadwip. Lastly, supposing for argument's sake that Government is subsidising the pandits with the object of ruining Hindu society and the Hindu religion, it must be admitted that the means which it has taken to secure this object are extremely inadequate. Has Hindu society suffered any harm in consequence of some distinguished pandits accepting Government service as professors of the Sanskrit College? If not, why should it suffer any harm by reason of Mahamahopadhyaya Bhuban Mohan Vidyaratna's becoming a stipendiary of Government?

(e)—*Local Self-Government and Municipal Administration.*

18. The *Burdwán Sanjivani*, of the 19th July, has the following:—

BURDWAN SANJIVANI,
July 19th, 1892.

The Kashthagolá ferry on the Damodar.

There can be no doubt that if the orders which the Magistrate of Burdwan has recently given to the ijaradar of the Kashthagola ferry on the bank of the Damodar are carried out, the local public will be greatly benefited, although all their inconveniences will not be removed. The writer has said before, and still says, that there is no rest-house for passengers on either bank of the river. It seems therefore, that when the Deputy Magistrate came to inspect the ghat, the ijaradar showed him some hut on the northern bank of the river, and made him believe that it was the rest-house for passengers. The writer can get respectable people to speak to the truth of his own statement. The ijaradar cannot of course, dare to say that there is a rest-house on the south bank of the river. He will probably say that no rest-house is possible on that bank in consequence of floods. But there is a piece of land to the right of the road leading from the ghat on that bank, which is not submerged in ordinary floods, and a rest-house can be constructed there. Again, there is another piece of land at a short distance on the same side of the road, so high, that it is not submerged in the heaviest floods, and a rest-house can very well be constructed here. The rest-house must contain accommodation for 100 or 150 passengers, and also for goods, and a signboard declaring it a rest-house should also be put up in front of it. The question of constructing rest-houses on both banks of the river should be carefully enquired into.

19. The *Banganivási*, of the 22nd July, says that the resolution adopted at the Belvedere Conference the other day will enable the Government to exercise its control over all the mufassal municipalities, and it is a pity that the native gentlemen present at the Conference failed to perceive this. The Conference aimed a death-blow at the principle of Local Self-Government.

BANGANIVASI,
July 22nd, 1892.

The Water-supply Conference.

20. The *Bangavasi*, of the 23rd July, writes as follows:—

BANGAVASI,
July 23rd, 1892

The Water-supply Conference.

The Lieutenant-Governor is likely to make very nice arrangements for the removal of the water-scarcity in this province. All that the Lieutenant-Governor had to say at the Conference held at Belvedere the other day was, that it was necessary to

have recourse to legislation for the purpose of giving power to the executive to compel the municipalities and the District Boards to undertake drainage and water-supply. The legislation to be undertaken for this purpose will certainly provide for the imposition of a new tax; and the people of every place that the authorities may determine upon will be compelled to pay that tax. Raja Peary Mohan made a strong protest against this proposal, and was supported by two other Bengali gentlemen. But the Babu-leader Surendranath supported the proposal. The Babu said that all respectable people with whom he had talked on the subject were in favour of the imposition of an additional tax for drainage and water-supply. And there is no doubt that these respectable people are all as wise and patriotic as the Banerji Babu himself. Speaking for himself, the writer is alarmed to hear of fresh taxation.

DAINIK-O-SAMACHAR
CHANDRIKA,
July 24th, 1892.

21. The *Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika*, of the 24th July, says that it was settled at the Sanitary Conference at Belvedere that municipalities should be compelled to supply drains and good drinking water within their limits, and should be empowered to levy increased rates for the purpose of meeting the increased expenditure. And that as regards rural areas, Government itself has undertaken to supply these with drains and drinking water, and wanted to be furnished with powers to legislate on the subject. Whenever any attempt is made to oppose these measures of Government on the round of the increased taxation which they will lead to, Government turns ground upon the people and says—

“Are we doing mischief to the country? Are we indifferent to the interests of the people? Are we oppressive? Are not those who question our motives guilty of disloyalty? And so on.” And this attitude of Government necessarily silences all opposition. Nevertheless, Raja Peary Mohan fought to the last against the proposals of Government. But as everybody else, including Babu Surendranath Banerji of the Congress—the great champion of the party of Local Self-Government—was opposed to him, he had to desist from the opposition. The people of the country are in a dilemma. They suffer from fever and scarcity of water. But if they utter one word of complaint, Government comes down upon them with schemes of increased taxation. The grievances of the people may or may not be removed, but their burdens are sure to increase. The revenue from the road cess and the public works cess amounts to from 30 to 40 lakhs of rupees. The best part of this revenue ought to be spent in constructing drains and furnishing good drinking water to the people, but no, these things must be done with money obtained by imposing taxes. It was for this reason that the writer asked the public to start a water-supply fund. There is time yet, and the public ought to subscribe to such a fund. And it is not likely that Government will then impose hard taxes; and it may even help the fund. But the people's own indifference in the matter is the root of all mischief.

DAINIK-O-SAMACHAR
CHANDRIKA,
July 28th, 1892.

22. The *Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika*, of the 28th July, refers to the resolutions which were passed at the recent Sanitary Conference at Belvedere, and remarks as follows:—

Though the cost of the drainage of rural tracts will have to be paid by the people, it is not the people, but the District Boards that will be consulted on the subject, as if the District Boards are the Parliament of the districts. The Babus, who are for Local Self-Government, are overjoyed at the passing of this Resolution, but its passing is causing great anxiety to the writer. Drains within rural tracts will increase the burdens of village people, but village people will, nevertheless, have no voice in the matter. Laws or regulations like this will, no doubt, prove the regeneration of India and the beginning of parliamentary institutions in this country. Victory to India—to the District Boards—to Babu Surendra Nath Banerji and his colleagues!

(f)—Questions affecting the land.

HITAKARI,
July 24th, 1892.

23. The *Hitakari*, of the 24th July, says that the partition of the Atia pargana in the Mymensingh district among a large number of co-sharers has subjected the raiyats to rack-renting, inasmuch as each zamindar exacts his own abwabs, and the total amount of abwabs which each raiyat has now

Rack-renting in the Atia pargana of the Mymensingh district.

to pay has, in consequence, become many times what he had to pay when under one or two zamindars. In many cases, too, the collectors of rents appointed by the zamindars commit great oppression on the raiyats, simply for the purpose of filling their own pockets.

(g)—*Railways and communications, including canals and irrigation.*

24. Babu Ramnath Chakravarti, Private Secretary to the Raja of Muktagacha, writing in the *Sanjivani*, of the 23rd July, in reference to the *Sanjivani's* paragraph in its issue of the 16th July last, regarding the proposed bridge over the Brahmaputra at Nasirabad (see Report on Native Papers for 23rd July, paragraph 24), says that the bridge will be of great benefit, especially to the residents of the eastern part of the town, seeing that all the public places of business in the town are situated in the western part. Besides, the town is daily becoming more populous and a permanent communication between its two parts has become a necessity, not to say that such a bridge will also be a great ornament to the town. The correspondent cannot, however, support the District Board's scheme of spending two or three lakhs of rupees on the construction of a bridge. A bridge built at a much less expense, and built sufficiently strong to enable men, animals, and conveyances to pass will serve its purpose exceedingly well. The building of the Raja's palace and seat of business in the western part of the town has greatly inconvenienced the public by taking up a considerable quantity of land, and a bridge will remove this inconvenience.

SANJIVANI,
July 23rd, 1892.

(h)—*General.*

25. The *Banganivasi*, of the 22nd July, asks if Sir Charles Elliott's many tours have succeeded in removing any grievances of the people, or in checking official oppression? If not, what is the good of spending public money in this way, or of His Honour's undergoing so much personal trouble?

BANGANIVASI,
July 22nd, 1892.

26. The same paper says that it was an evil hour when Sir Charles Elliott appointed the Pauper Committee. The formation of the Eurasian Democratic League and the awakening of a strong feeling of jealousy between the native subordinates in offices and their Eurasian fellow workers have been the effects of the appointment of this Committee. The little marks of favour that Government has shown to the Eurasians is leading them to commit oppressions, especially in the offices, on their native fellow countrymen. Sir Charles Elliott should make no delay in extinguishing this race animosity between two sections of Her Majesty's subjects, or there is no knowing what evil may result from it.

BANGANIVASI.

27. The *Pratihar*, of the 22nd July, enquires if the order issued by the sub-overseer in charge of the Bhairab river, or by somebody else in his name, to the effect that the people living on its banks should not be allowed to raise any *bunds* to check the overflowing of the river, is an authentic order. The people have been very much alarmed, and the District Magistrate ought to make an enquiry into the matter.

PRATIKAR,
July 22nd, 1892.

28. A correspondent of the *Prakriti*, of the 23rd July, says that Babu Pran Kumar Ghosh, Sub-Registrar of Diamond Harbour, is in the habit of postponing registration at pleasure. Recently, he told some people who came to him to get their deeds registered, that their deeds could not be registered in the month of Ashar! The men thereupon said that if registration was put off, it would be impossible for them to bring with them again the men who would identify them. But this representation had no effect and the party had to go away disappointed.

PRAKRITI,
July 23rd, 1892.

29. The *Sanjivani*, of the 23rd July, says that on the very same day on which the Lieutenant-Governor said in his speech at Bankura that his own feeling, and the feeling of the entire civilian community towards the natives of the country, was that of an

SANJIVANI,
July 23rd 1892.

elder brother towards a younger brother, there appeared in the *Pioneer* newspaper a statement to the effect that the Government of India refused to grant the volunteering privilege to the Bengalis, mainly on the advice of Sir Charles Elliott. And the *Pioneer* must have had proper authority for making the statement. Do, then, Sir Charles' professions correspond to his practice? Surely it is not the elder brother's duty to throw obstacles in the way of the advancement of the younger.

The writer is glad to learn from the *Madras Times* that the Viceroy has been pleased to grant the volunteering privilege to the people of the Madras Presidency. But the wrong done by Sir Charles Elliott to the people of his own presidency will never be forgotten by them. The people have now found him out, and they will no longer place any reliance on his sweet words of false assurance. People used to blame Sir Rivers Thompson as a bad ruler, but they will now see that Sir Charles Elliott has turned out a worse ruler even than Sir Rivers.

SANJIVANI,
July 23rd, 1892.

30. The same paper has learnt that Mr. Phillips has told his subordinates in Mymensingh that he will return to the district on the expiration of his leave. But the writer

Mr. Phillips.

knows that Government will not send him back to that district, and the people of Mymensingh may therefore think themselves safe. It will be a great misfortune for the people of Midnapore to have a Magistrate like Mr. Phillips, considering that it will not be easy for Mr. Phillips to change his nature or disposition. The thing is that Mr. Phillips ought to be removed from the executive branch of the service, and put in the Agricultural, the Forest, or the Opium Department. That will be for the good as well of the people as of Mr. Phillips himself, for it is not improbable that with his hot-headedness he may again come to grief some day by continuing to remain in the executive branch of the service.

BANGAVASI,
July 23rd, 1892.

31. The *Bangavasi*, of the 23rd July, says that the Hindus have been alarmed by Sir Charles Elliott's Deoghur speech, which contains the hint that a re-enactment of the Hurdwar affair in some place of pilgrimage in Bengal would not be quite an impossibility. It may be that the English rulers do not care for the opinion of their subjects. But words calculated to create alarm should not still have fallen from the lips of the Lieutenant-Governor at a time when the popular mind is already excited on the subject.

DACCA PRAKASH,
July 24th, 1892.

32. The *Dacca Prakash*, of the 24th July, does not like the proposal to remove the Sub-registry office at Mahadevpur within the Jafarganj thana in the district of Dacca, to Ghioir. It would be better to carry the sub-registry office to Uthali which has a central position. The transfer of the office to Ghioir will result in much inconvenience.

BENGAL EXCHANGE
GAZETTE,
July 27th, 1892.

Mr. Phillips' transfer to Midnapore.

33. The *Bengal Exchange Gazette*, of the 27th July, has the following:—

Mr. Phillips has been appointed Magistrate of Midnapore. His performances at Mymensingh have hardly been over when an arena has been prepared for him at Midnapore, and there is no knowing how he will play his part there. Mr. Phillips is a master-hand at parts which excite hatred in the spectator's mind, and wherever he has had occasion to appear, he has struck his spectators dumb with astonishment. Oh, how can Government spare such an actor! Thanked be the Lieutenant Governor that he should think fit to retain Mr. Phillips in the executive branch of the public service after his doings in Mymensingh! Cannot the administration go on without Phillips? Cannot the country be governed without Phillips? Will your beloved acting grounds? O Lieutenant-Governor, remain without actors, without Phillips? "O, wielder of the destiny of Bengal! if you be really a well-wisher of your subjects and want to prove your affection for them, if you are really anxious to maintain the glory and the prestige attaching to your position as the ruler of the province, then do you please the Civilian body by transferring Mr. Phillips to some other department. Everything is in your power, why then do you tarnish your fair fame by putting in the courts of justice such judges as Mr. Phillips? Why then disappoint us, O Lord!—listen once to what the people of the country say, turn your eyes towards the country, and you will, instead of acquiring dispraise, acquire increased renown."

III.—LEGISLATIVE.

34. The *Charuvarta*, of the 18th July, says that everybody would be glad to see the mufassal municipal towns adorned with hydrants and *pacca* drains, but it would be contrary to the principle of Local Self-Government to force upon the municipalities changes, which they can ill afford to introduce. It appears that the municipalities will be compelled to introduce changes which are altogether beyond their means. The principle which will be henceforward followed will be to assess the taxes according to the needs of a municipality, and not to make the improvements in a municipality depend on its income. The assessment work will, after the passing of the Municipal Bill, be made over to assessors specially appointed for the purpose. But will not the appointment of such an assessor be an interference with the powers of the Commissioners? The assessment work being made over to an assessor, the Commissioners will become mere puppets existing only for the purpose of keeping the municipal accounts.

CHARUVARTA,
July 18th, 1892.

35. The *Sahachur*, of the 20th July, has the following in the course of an article headed—‘Sir Charles Elliott is becoming another Sir George Campbell’ :—

SAHACHAR
July 20th, 1892.

‘Sir Charles Elliott is becoming another Sir George Campbell.’

Sir Charles Elliott has given proof of ability and shown sympathy with the people, and the writer considers it very disagreeable work to have to find fault with his policy in any matter. But he fears that though His Honour is very industrious and has the good of the people at heart, still he is gradually imbibing the fault which made Sir George Campbell leave India disheartened and unpopular. Sir George Campbell, too, was a model of industry and used to see everything with his own eyes. But he was not a Bengal Civilian, and he did not understand the people of Bengal. He was a Punjab Civilian, and he received his political training from Punjab politicians. It was his conviction that the natives of India must be ruled well, but must, nevertheless, be kept under restraint in all matters. Sir Charles Elliott was in the North-Western Provinces, and if rumour is to be believed, he used to say, when there, that natives of India can live on Rs. 3 per month. He saw *chhatu* and *ata*, fried *makka* and *chholu* exposed for sale in the bazars and came to the conclusion that the natives of India required no other food. Be that as it may, the Lieutenant-Governor ought to know, if he does not know it already, that the fundamental principles of British rule in India are justice and progress. If the people are to be reconciled to English rule, the standard of that rule will have to be raised continually. The people now patiently submit to the many inconveniences of British rule, simply because they believe that all their grievances will be in the long run removed, and they will come to be ruled on the same system of Government that prevails in England and the colonies. When the Duke of Wellington said like a true Tory, that there would be danger in giving the people of India, higher education and any post higher than that of a peon, Lord Macaulay replied with anger and pride—“We will not rule a nation of slaves.” And Lord Macaulay’s meaning was, let the risk be what it may, India should be ruled upon a truly English system. And in discussing the question of introducing the elective principle into the Indian Legislative Council Lord Salisbury said that the right of election, once conceded to the people of India, could not be withdrawn. But if the Prime Minister of England is unable to withdraw a right once conceded, surely the Governor of an Indian province must be a hundred times more unable to do the same thing. Sir Charles Elliott contemplates curtailing the municipal rights which the people of Bengal have been enjoying for the last few years. His Honour proposed to invest Magistrates with the power of appointing assessors to revise assessments made by Municipal Commissioners. This proposal if carried, would have made it impossible for respectable people to accept Commissionerships. But this proposal has been abandoned, and the proposal, which has been substituted in its place is, that two or three municipalities should jointly appoint an assessor to assess municipal rates. This is no doubt a better proposal, but not even this is necessary, for its adoption will increase the burdens of the rate-payers without giving them a compensating advantage. And would it be after all a better arrangement to get a thing done by one man than to get it done by a body of Commissioners? An assessor can be bribed and will even be capable of making unfair assessments from motives of enmity. But nothing like this can happen

under the existing arrangement, in which unfair assessments can be appealed against, and such appeals are heard by the Chairman and three Commissioners. There is therefore no necessity for the new proposal. Its adoption will, moreover, deprive the people of their most important right of taxing themselves. The right of the people to control the expenditure of revenue depends in fact on their right to tax themselves. The Lieutenant-Governor's second proposal is that Government should be empowered to take away from the municipalities, if necessary, the right of electing their Chairman. Under the existing law, Government can, if it likes, give to the second class municipalities the right of electing their Chairmen. That is to say, it can increase, but cannot take away the powers of the municipalities. But the present proposal is for taking away from the municipalities a right which is already enjoyed by them. In commending this proposal, Sir Charles Elliott said that the power which it is proposed to confer on Government in this respect would be exercised with great caution. Sir George Campbell said the same thing in connection with his Municipal Bill, but Lord Northbrook in vetoing that measure, remarked that he was not prepared to see so much power in the hand of one man, however well-disposed that man might be. And the remark was made like a true Englishman. Why should the Lieutenant-Governor keep so much power in his hand, and why should the people place so much reliance on his favour? Between a right of the people and a cautious exercise of power by Government, there exists all the difference between heaven and earth. It is, therefore, the wish of the people that the Lieutenant-Governor should abandon the proposal. If His Honour is determined to get the proposal passed, there can be no doubt it will be passed; but its passing will do harm not only to Bengal but to the whole British empire in India. The people have already begun to question the reality of rights which are conferred one day and taken away the very next.

SAHACHAR,
July 20th, 1892

Local self-government and its
enemies.

36. The same paper has the following:—

Since the new Municipal Bill has been introduced into the Council, some people have raised the cry that the people of this country are not fit for self-government, and that it is therefore absolutely necessary to appoint Magistrates as Chairmen of municipalities. These men rely on the old argument, viz., that the people of the country are fond of *daladali*, and that it is necessary to keep them in check by appointing Magistrates as Chairmen of their municipalities. Now, these men should answer the following questions:—

1. Will Magistrates find time to do municipal work? If they were to do all municipal work honestly and conscientiously, would they find time to do the most important part of their work, viz., the administration of justice? Take a case. Within the last three years no Magistrate stayed in the district of 24-Parganas for more than three months at a time on the average, and what can such men know of municipal affairs, or do as Chairmen of municipalities?

2. There were no regular meetings; no discussion under Magistrate-Chairmen. This is how municipal business was transacted in those days. On the meeting day the Commissioners assemble, but the Magistrate is engaged on his office work, and packet after packet of official papers is being brought to him. Just at this moment some officer whispers to the Magistrate: "To-day is the day appointed for a municipal meeting." "Well, then, call the Commissioners," says the Magistrate. A chuprasi forthwith calls in the Commissioners. The Commissioners come, but the Magistrate is still engaged in reading his papers. Then a few words end the meeting. Is not this a correct description of a municipal meeting under a Magistrate-Chairman?

3. Is it not a fact that under Magistrate-Chairmen the Vice-Chairmen used to do all things? Is it not a fact that under the Chairmanship of the Magistrate, the Commissioners were ciphers, and all real power was exercised either by the Vice-Chairman or by some clerk of the Magistrate?

4. Is it not a fact that there is now less of *daladali* and partiality in the matter of assessing municipal rates than there used to be under the Chairmanship of Magistrates?

5. Is it not a fact that municipal expenditure was larger under Magistrate-Chairmen than it is now?

6. Can any one dare deny that non-official Chairmen devote more time to municipal work than Magistrate-Chairmen did?

7. Is it not a fact that a larger number of roads and tanks have been and are still being constructed under non-official Chairman than were excavated under Magistrate-Chairmen?

8. England is governed by parties, and where is the harm if there be two parties in a municipality? But, can any instance be pointed out in which Municipal Commissioners acted under party-feeling in the matter of constructing roads, &c.? There is, in fact, better municipal government now than there used to be under Magistrate-Chairmen.

The fact is that Magistrate-Chairmen knew well that they would be supported in all their acts by the officials of Government, and so they did not care how they acted in municipal matters. But the case is different with non-official Chairmen, who know that they must not expect any indulgence from Government if they do anything wrong, and they therefore try to act with care and caution, and are consequently more successful in municipal administration than Magistrate-Chairmen. They practise the greatest economy in the expenditure of municipal money. To supplant non-official by official Chairmen will therefore be a retrograde measure.

37. The *Samay*, of the 22nd July, says that Mr. Risley's reason for getting the Vice-Chairmen of municipalities nominated by Government is that, as scions of ancient and respectable families are trying to obtain Chairmanships, and as it often becomes inconvenient to exercise control over such Chairmen, it is necessary to appoint strong men as Vice-Chairmen. To this, however, it may be replied that all municipalities ought not to suffer for the sake of the five or six to which scions of ancient families may be appointed as Chairmen. And if such scions be not able and efficient men, why make them Chairmen at all?

SAMAY,
July 22nd, 1892.

The Municipal Bill.

38. The *Sulabh Dainik*, of the 22nd July, has the following:—

SULABH DAINIK,
July 22nd, 1892.

It was in an auspicious moment that Mr. Risley set foot in India; it was in an auspicious moment that the Lieutenant-Governor cast his auspicious eyes upon Mr. Risley; and it was in an auspicious moment that Mr. Risley's Municipal Bill was introduced in the Bengal Council. Everything is auspicious for Mr. Risley, while everything that is inauspicious is ours. The new Municipal Bill proposes to take away from us the power which we have so long enjoyed of electing our own Municipal Chairmen. The District Magistrate will be henceforward all in all, and any disagreement with him will lead to the loss of all our rights, that is to say, the District Magistrate will make us dance like puppets, and woe unto us if we refuse to dance at his bidding. If the proposed law comes to this, then O Lieutenant-Governor—we do not want Self-Government, and do you say once for all:—"There is an end of Local Self-Government from to-day, how can you have Self-Government when you have no 'self' to govern?"

Again, the Lieutenant-Governor tells us in sweet reassuring words that we have nothing to fear, that he has no wish to discourage our fondly cherished privilege of Self-Government, that he has every wish to promote our welfare. As coming from the Lieutenant-Governor, these assurances are, of course, encouraging, but we confess our fears are not removed. At one time, another Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Rivers Thompson, also gave us many hopes, and told us that we should be permitted to elect our own Chairmen and to do our own work. And Messrs. Reynolds and Macaulay, two Members of the Bengal Council, also gave us assurances to that effect. But where are those assurances now? Sir Steuart Bayley, too, plainly gave us to understand that we had nothing to fear as regards our privilege of Self-Government, and that the authorities would never interfere with that privilege. But the assurances given by him are now going to be set at naught. Sir Charles Elliott, you seem unable to give effect to the promises made by two of your predecessors in office. Considering that the assurances given by them are not being made good by you, what guarantee is there that your own promises will be respected by the Lieutenant-Governors who will come after you? Will the seed of destruction sown by you develop into a tree and bear good fruit, if you alone water it with the water of encouraging words? Wise man as you are, why do you propose to do things which will produce dissatisfaction in the country?

My Lord! we piteously implore you with hands joined in supplication not to oppose us in our dearly cherished desires and take away that treasure of us poor men. Do not commit the sin that is incurred by making a gift and then revoking it. For, if you do so, a stain will be cast upon your good name.

This Municipal Bill is producing universal dissatisfaction, but nobody has the courage to protest against it. What is being said against the measure is only such as one cannot help saying, and is more like a humble prayer than a protest. If you had now been interfering with any of the rights enjoyed by your own countrymen, you would have seen how vigorously your action would have been protested against. We still vividly remember the violent protests that were made against the Ilbert Bill. There was hardly any language, any word, any letter that your countrymen did not use against Lord Ripon. And even as regards yourself, for the few remarks you recently made on the work of a Sessions Judge, the *Englishman* newspaper was unsparing in its denunciation of your conduct. Again, for certain remarks made by you regarding the Anglo-Indian merchants you had even to make an apology. Therefore, do we say, O, our earthly providence!—that as we only wish to rest under the shadow of your mercy, what will you gain by driving us away? It is only the poor that are fit objects of pity. Poor, weak, and helpless as we are, why is this flogging being inflicted upon us? We are, of course, doomed to suffer, but what will be gained by striking us? Do you therefore adopt measures to prevent the passing of this fearful Bill, and earn the gratitude of these seventy millions of people.

And to you also, the Babus of Bengal, we say it will not do to blame the Lieutenant-Governor alone. Hewers of wood as you are, wood is everything that you possess in this world; and you certainly can form no idea of the price of the pearl that grows within the elephant's head. If you had been able to conduct yourselves properly and with good sense, if you had been able to live on friendly terms with your neighbours and to manage your own affairs, if you had selected proper persons to do your work, you would have been spared all this trouble and harassment. There have been instances in which your Municipal Commissioners have been unable to elect a Chairman for themselves and have had to seek the aid of the Magistrate. Do you remember these instances? You are starving wretches who are beside yourselves with joy at the sight of food; beggars as you are who are dismissed with handfuls of rice—you are beside yourselves with joy at the sight of a large collection of gems. You must, therefore, suffer trouble. When going about canvassing for votes, you forget your self-respect and lay yourselves prostrate at the feet of men of the lowest castes; you often try to secure votes by unfair means; you kindle the fire of domestic dissension and you do the dire work of incendiaries. It is therefore but proper that you should be punished for your misdeeds. And what but trouble can be in store for you? Hence do we say—O you conceited Babus—eager for Self-Government!—first mind your own business and then attend to the business of other people. And to you also—O Lord of Bengal—we say My Lord, we have long lost all our rights; if you have in your mercy given us a few rights do you enable us to gradually get accustomed to them. The shortcomings due to inexperience will in a short time disappear, and you will, then, of your own accord, express yourselves satisfied and praise the Bengális. Therefore do we say—do not for a trifling cause deprive us of the small rights that we possess. And God will bless you, and these seventy millions of people will sing your praise.

SUDHAKAR
July 22nd, 1892.

39. The *Sudhakar*, of the 22nd July, says that it has already proved the heavy responsibility that lies upon Government in the matter of providing for a proper management of

wuqf property which is now grossly mismanaged. But the responsibility of the Muhammadan community in this matter is a hundred times greater than that of the Government. The interest of the English Government in this matter is a purely philanthropic one, whereas the interest of the Muhammadan community is of a personal and all-important nature. Let Mussulman patriots in all places send memorials to Government; let Mussulman leaders in every district furnish a list of *wuqf* properties and report on their management and financial condition; and let either an Association be established in Calcutta for agitating the matter, or let the matter be taken up by the Calcutta Central Muhammadan Association.

Numerously signed memorials should be sent up to Government from every side. The Mussulmans should pray to Government for the appointment of competent Mussulman *matwallis* for the application of the income of *wuqf* properties to their legitimate purposes, and for a law giving Government control over the management of such property. The writer is firmly convinced that if Government has the least sympathy with the Mussulmans in their present sad condition, it will not fail to promote their welfare by providing for the better management of *wuqf* property.

40. The *Dacca Prakash*, of the 24th July, has the following on the Chaukidari Bill:—

DACCA PRAKASH,
July 24th, 1892.

The Chaukidari Bill.

Making chaukidars independent of panchayets will be productive of very bad results. Armed with increased powers, the chaukidars will oppress those villagers who will not consent to propitiate them with money. They will, for instance, charge them with offences committed either by themselves or by men in their party. This state of things will be sure to give rise to serious discontent among the villagers. And no less deplorable results will follow from the sale of the villagers' goods and utensils for arrears of the chaukidari tax. At present the chaukidars are under the control of the panchayets, and the latter can easily ascertain whether or not the chaukidars are doing their duty properly. But when the chaukidar will be made independent of the panchayet and brought directly under the police, it will be impossible for the police officers in the *thána* to exercise any practical supervision over the chaukidar of a distant village. Thus, one result of the proposed change in the law will be that the chaukidar will obtain special facilities for hiding crime. Again, chaukidars being ignorant low-caste men, any information furnished by them regarding crops or the number of births and deaths in the villages is absolutely of no value. It is therefore clear that, by bringing chaukidars directly under the police, Government will gain nothing. But much good will, on the other hand, result from permitting panchayets to appoint chaukidars and to fix their pay and work. Again, if panchayets are placed not under the police, but under District Magistrates or Magistrates in charge, respectable villagers will have no objection to serve as panchayets. The writer made these suggestions a year ago, and it is his conviction that if these suggestions are not given effect to, Government will not gain its object in appointing panchayets.

41. The *Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika*, of the 24th July, has the following:—

DAINIK-O-SAMACHAR
CHANDRIKA,
July 24th, 1892.

The Municipal Bill.

The passing of the new Municipal Bill will have the effect of narrowing the scope of Local Self-Government. It is said on behalf of the Bill that it aims at freeing Government from the necessity under which it stands under the existing law of depriving municipalities of the privilege of Self-Government. If a municipality is guilty of any shortcoming, Government instead of depriving it of Self-Government will, under the proposed law, simply teach it and rebuke it. This may or may not be. But there can be no doubt that as official interference in the affairs of municipalities, which is permitted under the existing law, is intolerable, its increase under the proposed law will make it impossible for respectable men to serve on Municipal Boards. At present, whenever Government deprives a municipality of Self-Government, it has to offer an explanation, and to face strong criticism in the Press. But as this is not a desirable state of things for Government, Government wants to increase the powers of the officials with the object of avoiding all such inconvenience. And if the proposed measure is passed, it will be easy for the authorities to exercise tyranny over Self-Government. This is why the new measure is causing anxiety to the supporters of Local Self-Government in this country. But the writer feels no such anxiety. In his opinion—election or no election—Self-Government or no Self-Government—municipalities will never enjoy independence; and even if they do, no good will be done to the country thereby. It is the new powers which it is proposed to confer on the municipalities in the name of sanitation that are causing anxiety to the writer. He, however, knows well that his protest on the subject will be of no avail, for the framer of the measure has himself said 'the goddess of sanitation will always have to be propitiated with victims.' The officials are votaries of western sanitation, and fail to understand that western

sanitation does not suit this country. The people of Bengal are poverty-stricken and overburdened with taxation. But this the authorities will not see, and they will therefore go on increasing the people's burdens, for the object of Self-Government is to increase taxation. People were better off when there was neither Self-Government nor Municipality in the country.

DAINIK-O-SAMACHAR
CHANDRIKA,
July 25th, 1892.

42. The *Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika*, of the 25th July, says that the changes in the Chaukidari Bill adopted at the meeting of the Bengal Council held on the 23rd July,

at the suggestion of Mr. Woodroffe, were of a very unimportant character. As regards the panchayet, it has been settled that it should consist generally of from three to five members, and in certain cases of even a single member. But a panchayet consisting of a single member will be a nice panchayet indeed! Mr. Risley proposed the partial introduction of the elective principle into the Bill, but Mr. Cotton stoutly opposed the proposal. After much discussion Mr. Risley's proposal was adopted. But the writer is not at all delighted at this, because he is opposed to the elective principle itself. The elective system ignores caste distinctions, and does not therefore deserve to be supported. Mr. Risley will, however, earn the gratitude of the Babu class, who will rejoice at this concession, whilst failing to see that the larger powers conferred on the chaukidars will serve to increase police oppression throughout the province.

DAINIK-O-SAMACHAR
CHANDRIKA,
July 26th, 1892.

43. The *Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika*, of the 26th July, says that The elective principle in the Mr. Risley's concession of the elective system has Chaukidari Bill. blinded the Babus to the graver defects in the Chaukidari Bill. They fail to see that the increased powers of the chaukidars will only lead to oppression. Even the *Hindoo Patriot* has gone mad over the concession. Its issue for Monday the 25th July, which may well be called the Risley edition of the *Hindoo Patriot*, contains so many as three articles describing the blessings conferred on the people by Mr. Risley.

V.—PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

BANGANIVASI,
July 22nd, 1892.

44. The *Banganivasi*, of the 22nd July, says that it would be a matter of great satisfaction indeed, if the bright picture of the country's condition drawn by the Government of India were a true representation of its real situation. It is difficult to controvert the statements made by the Government of India, but there is still no denying that distress exists in the country, and that the relief which is being given is not adequate. The condition of Jalpaiguri alone is sufficient to bear this out. Mr. Haegart's letter in the *Englishman* also shows what dire distress prevails in the Sonthal Parganas. Having no knowledge of the other presidencies, the writer is unable to speak regarding them, but the condition of Bengal alone is sufficient to warrant the statement that there is still distress in the country.

SAMAY,
July 22nd, 1892.

45. The *Samay*, of the 22nd July, refers to the Rev. Mr. Haegart's letter published in the *Pioneer* newspaper of the 13th July, on the subject of famine in the Sonthal Parganas, and remarks as follows:—

What is Government doing for the famine-stricken people? Considering that Government is bound, nay, has actually promised, to protect its people in distress, one is at a loss to see why they have been allowed to die of starvation. If Mr. Haegart's account is proved to be true and to contain no exaggeration, the writer will feel bound to say that Government is neglecting its duty by its people, and that such neglect of duty on its part is unpardonable.

BANGAVASI
July 23rd, 1892.

46. The *Bangavasi*, of the 23rd July, says that Jalpaiguri suffered from drought last year, and has been flooded this year. The crops have been severely damaged, and rice is selling at five or six seers per rupee. The authorities cannot pooh-pooh the present report of distress, for it has been published by the *Englishman* newspaper itself. The public will be glad if the *Englishman* will let them know what means have been adopted for the alleviation of distress.

BANGAVASI

47. The same paper says that a *beel* named Baradaha and a stream called Akhira in Pirganj in the Rangpur district have been flooded, and great damage has been done to the

crops. Great damage has also been done to the crops at Barigram in the same district.

48. The same paper has learnt from Hakamagram in the Dhubri district in Assam, that floods in the river Gauranga have almost completely destroyed the *aus* crop and

Floods in Assam.

greatly damaged the *aman* crop.

49. The *Sanjivani*, of the 23rd July, says that the people of the Netrokona subdivision of the Mymensingh district are suffering from scarcity, and the District Board and the subdivisional officer ought to adopt timely measures for their relief. The *boro* crop had been completely destroyed for want of rain, and now the heavy rainfall and the floods have submerged the whole subdivision, thus putting an end to the prospects of the *aman* crop.

Distress in the Netrokona subdivision of the Mymensingh district.

50. The same paper has learnt from Kamrup in Assam that great distress prevails there, owing to heavy floods. The *aus* crop has been completely destroyed, and all prospect of a *sali* crop has also vanished.

Distress in Kamrup in Assam.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

51. A correspondent of the *Burdwan Sanjivani*, of the 19th July, says that during the Lieutenant-Governor's stay in Raniganj, Mr. White, the Manager of Messrs. Burn and Company, closed all the chimneys of his factories except one or two, and those he kept open were supplied with coke coal and not steam coal, lest they should give out much smoke. Mr. White also gave leave for four or five days to all boy operatives under 12 years of age. The recently enlarged factory, which is causing so much mischief to half the town of Raniganj, was not shown to His Honour. And the Lieutenant-Governor was kept so hemmed in by Europeans that the people got no opportunity of making their wishes known to him. Previous Lieutenant-Governors, when on their visit to Raniganj, stopped at the garden house of the Raja of Seharsol, where respectable people could visit them and make their wants and wishes known to them. But as stated above it was otherwise this time.

The Lieutenant-Governor in Raniganj.

52. A correspondent of the same paper complains of the ravages of a tiger at Putsuri, Kamu, Brahmunposri, Guliter, and other villages within the jurisdiction of the Montesver thána in the district of Burdwan. The time for agricultural operations is come, but the agriculturists dare not go to their fields for fear of the tiger. Government is asked to rid the villagers of the animal.

A tiger in the district of Burdwan.

53. The *Bihar Bandhu*, of the 21st July, sees a considerable decline of the material prosperity of the country under British rule. Under Moghul rule the people had their own arts and industries, and lived prosperous days. But now under British rule the arts and industries have been monopolised by foreigners, the people wanting everything if not supplied by foreign manufacturers.

Material condition of India under British rule.

54. The *Bangavasi*, of the 23rd July, has the following :—
The newspaper is an exponent or expression of the popular mind. But where there is no man, properly so called, there is no mind or expression of the mind, and consequently no newspaper. In England every man possesses sovereign power. In England, in fact, the Sovereign means the subjects taken collectively. The English people taken distributively mean the subject, and taken collectively mean the ruling or sovereign power. The people of England are *men* because they possess sovereign power. The people of India do not possess any such power and are not therefore *men*. The making or unmaking of the British Parliament, that is, of the British ruling power, is the work of the British people themselves. Does it need pointing out, then, how powerful and influential the British subject is? And the newspaper in England is in the hands of subjects, the moving of whose finger alone has a very serious meaning.

The Native Press.

BANGAVASI,
July 23rd, 1892.

SANJIVANI,
July 23rd, 1892.

SANJIVANI.

BURDWAN SANJIVANI,
July 19th, 1892.

BURDWAN SANJIVANI.

BEHAR BANDHU,
July 21st, 1892.

BANGAVASI,
July 23rd, 1892.

And we, Indians, who and what are we? The Consent Act was passed; we left nothing unsaid or unwritten which could be said or written against it, but no one listened to what we said or wrote. And who are we that our representations should be cared for or valued? Here is the Chaukidari Bill about to be passed. The whole country is asking the Legislature at the top of its voice not to pass the Bill, but know this for certain that no one will vouchsafe to listen to us. The Bill will be either passed or rejected. But the passing or the rejection of it will in no way depend on what we say regarding it. And this is true not only as regards this Chaukidari Bill, but as regards everything and every matter. We know thoroughly well that our representations carry no weight with the Sovereign or her representatives. What we, the conductors of the Native Press, say regarding the policy of our rulers or their actions is never taken notice of by them, nor do they think it necessary to take notice of it. They act as they themselves think best. It may be therefore asked, why then does the Native Press clamour? And the answer is that the conductors of the native press cannot resist the temptation of clamouring. They know that their newspapers are not real newspapers but sorry imitations thereof, and that their business, as conductors of newspapers, is as mean as that of the man who deals in false, instead of real, diamonds. But they cannot still forego their habit of dealing in false ware.

BANGAVASI,
July 23rd, 1892.

55. The same paper has the following:—

The ruler and the ruled in England and in India.

The English are now rulers of this country, and English officials in India really and honestly believe that the English are a superior, and the Indians are an inferior, people. It is their pride of superiority which makes Englishmen anxious to raise us to their own superior level. It is their belief that we Indians do not understand our own interests, do not understand what preserves or destroys our health, what makes us happy or miserable, and that they alone understand these things. With this belief in their minds, the authorities are day and night busy devising means to promote our interests. When such is the belief of the strong, the best thing that the weak can do is to remain silent. Everything goes on smoothly, if only the weak render patient submission. We do not say this regretfully or in sorrow; we only state a truth. For this there is no ill-feeling or disaffection against the British Government, though there are doubtless indications of the existence of such feelings in the country. But Government itself is to blame for a state of things which has brought into existence the class of crack-brained people in this country who conduct newspapers, organize meetings and conferences, and go into ecstasies over a Dadabhai's return to Parliament.

What the English Government is to blame for is that, although it looks upon us as children, it cannot always maintain that attitude towards us, and therefore occasionally introduces into our country many good laws and measures which do not at all suit us and which we are not at all fit for.

Take the case of Raja Suryya Kanta and the treatment he has received at the hands of Mr. Phillips, the Magistrate of Mymensingh. What a noise and agitation the affair has caused! But what is the cause of all this noise and agitation? The cause is nothing else but the constant application in India, which is an inferior country, of the noble principle which is very properly acted upon in that superior country, England, viz., that judicial and executive functions should be kept separate. Surely India is not a country where this principle can be properly applied or acted upon. In England the acts of the executive may be, and as a matter of fact are, subjected to searching criticism, and Government does not find it difficult to show the highest respect for law and judicial procedure without relaxing in the least the rigour of the administration. For there is no distinction in that country between the ruler and the ruled, the ruled there being also in a manner the ruler. But this can never be the case in this country, where the official body shall always remain the official body. They will ever be the doers, and we shall ever be the sufferers. Our weal and woe will always be entirely in their hands. Under these circumstances, anything that confounds our understanding causes us the greatest injury. If we once get the idea into our head that there is the Judge over the Magistrate, that there is the judicial officer over the executive officer, we naturally find ourselves a little crack-brained, and become apt to forget the necessity we are

under of showing the completest obedience to the authority of the executive. And this makes us a little regardless of law and authority, and we end by doing something which proves for us a difficulty and a danger. As we must occupy the position of the ruled, it is only by leaving the question of justice or no justice completely in the hands of our ruler that we can live in peace and happiness. It will be well for us to recognize the fact that our ruler is our earthly providence, and it will be well for Government too, to make us understand this, and guide and govern us accordingly. Anything not agreeing with this may suit England, but cannot suit this country.

But whether owing to our misfortune or to a mistake on the part of Government, that noble principle, namely, the separation of executive from judicial functions, has been, as a matter of fact, introduced into this country. And this one fact has turned the heads of many unthinking men among us. These crack-brained men fail to see what the relations of the British Government and the British nation are with the people of India, and think that they possess complete equality with Englishmen, and though unable to take a proper measure of their own powers, are anxious to interfere with or curtail the powers of Government. A measure the smallest interference with which causes the mightiest convulsions in England—may be, and often is, radically changed in India in, as it were, one breath. This is an everyday occurrence, and yet the crack-brained will not see the meaning of what passes before their very eyes, and will see no difference between England and India. This, to be sure, is no common perversity of the intellect.

56. The *Sanjivani*, of the 23rd July, is surprised to see Sir Charles Elliott's ignorance of the spirit of the native press, as evinced in his reference to that press in his Bankura speech. How has His Honour come to the conclusion that the native editors who constantly find fault with Government and its officers are men who have met with some disappointment or other at the hands of Government, and that they are therefore disaffected towards the Government? It is the firm belief of the native editors that British domination in India is the will of the Almighty, and they therefore do their best to strengthen the foundations of the British Empire in India by increasing the people's respect for British civilization, and by pointing out defects in the British administration. Their criticism of any action of Government or of its officers never proceeds from any other motive. The writer does not know whether the remarks which fell from His Honour at Bankura proceeded from his own ignorance or were prompted by evil counsel. If His Honour really believes that the men who meet with disappointment at the hands of Government generally become editors of native newspapers, he ought to collect facts and figures to show how many native papers are conducted by such men.

57. The same paper says that if the proposal for introducing a gold currency in India is carried into effect, the people of this country will be completely ruined. The writer would like to know the name of the economist who has made this proposal in a country where cowrie shells and bits of copper still form a medium of currency among the masses.

58. A correspondent of the same paper, writing from Somastipur in Darbhanga, says that since the commencement of traffic on the railway line joining the Northern Bengal State Railway with the Tirhut State Railway he has observed coolies returning home from Assam and Rangpur in a state of health in which it is impossible for them to survive their return home, and many of them have been observed to die on the way. Should not some better arrangement be made either for the medical treatment of sick coolies in their respective places of employment, or for granting them timely permission to return home?

59. The *Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika*, of the 24th July, has the following in an article headed "Salaaming Sahebs:—"
"Salaaming Sahebs."
The moment you see a Sahib make him your salaam. Every topeewalla in India, no matter whether he hails from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Australia, Africa, or America, is our King; the wife of every such topeewalla is our Queen; the sons born of every such topeewalla are our princes and the daughters of every such topeewalla are our Princesses. We

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are all ready and willing to make all of them our salaam. And since Feringhees of all sorts, namely, earth coloured Feringhees, Feringhees that are known as the *tyansh*, white Feringhees, rose-coloured Feringhees, brownish Feringhees, black Feringhees, and copper-coloured Feringhees, all claim to possess British blood in their veins, we are prepared to make our salaam to them too. For in the matter of salaaming we do not show any grudging spirit.

Not to speak of the saheb and the Feringhee who are live topeewallas with hands and feet, and to whom we must make our salaam as a matter of course, we are in the habit of making our salaam even to a topee, inanimate thing though it be. We show this respect even to hats of various sizes and fashions exposed for sale in the shops and to all hat-makers.

At the sight of a European lady in the interesting condition, we make "double" salaam; one due to the lady and another to the child in the womb. Perchance that child may one day develop into a Civilian, and with Phillips for his name may become Magistrate of Mymensingh. Perchance that child may one day become even Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. As for his becoming a Commissioner of Police or a Police Superintendent, there will be nothing strange or unusual in that. It therefore follows that, as soon as we come across a European lady in an interesting condition, we should, as a rule, salaam to her twice.

A kerani Babu, who had been thrown out of employ, met a Feringhee woman in that condition in the street and salaamed to her twice, and being asked the reason said, "ma'am saheb, the child that will be born of your womb will surely become in time the Registrar of some Government office, and by making this salaam I have made my application to him for a situation. Please to remember that I am the first applicant."

The kerani Babu made his salaam to the child in the womb in the expectation of getting a situation. We have no such expectation, but are, nevertheless, ready to make such salaam in order that we may be able to maintain our *ijjat*, and every one in this country should be always prepared to act like ourselves.

The Babus in times past salaamed to every saheb they came across, and became his obedient servants from that moment. For this reason the sahebs in times past loved the Babus and favoured them in many ways, helped them to make money and become rich, and granted their wishes and prayers.

The Englishman is a model of justice and impartiality in his own country. In India he is king, and all others are his subjects. Can subjects become the equals of their king? Their English education makes native youths think themselves the equals of the sahebs, for they are all subjects of the Maharani. It is owing to this notion of his that young India lacks proficiency in the art of salaaming, and has therefore to put up with humiliation at every step.

Everybody should learn to make salaams in every act and occupation of his life. There should be *sola* hats hung up in every house, and people should practise the art of salaaming by making salaams to those hats, and they should make salaams to all European and Feringhee men and women whenever and wherever they may meet them.

But will salaaming alone bring about a better state of things? Are not the times changed? It is not easy to please the sahebs of the present time. The good old Haileybury days are gone, and the present is the age of competition. In past times it was only young men belonging to respectable English families that were allowed to come out to India as civilians, but now anybody and everybody can become a civilian by passing the prescribed examinations. Will salaaming, under these circumstances, bring back the old days of happiness and prosperity? What the result will be we cannot tell. But when we have become losers by neglecting the salamming art, it behoves us to again take to its practice and see if by so doing we can bring back the good old days. Therefore away with your doctrine of equality and away with your Anglicism. Every saheb is our king, every English woman is our queen, every English boy is our prince, every English girl is our princess. The Chief Justice of the highest court in the land laid it down during the trial of the *Bangavási* case that the British community in India is the Sovereign, and all natives are their subjects. But we will go further than that and say that all natives are slaves of their slaves. Do not therefore court needless humiliation. Salaam to every European man and woman you come across. Salaam to you saheb—you may be your Bibi's *gholam*—but we are the gholam of gholams!

60. The *Dainik-o-Samāchār Chandrikā*, of the 26th July, has the following:—

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CHANDRIKA,
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The use and influence of the vernacular newspapers.

Though the fact may not be admitted in so many words that it is the native newspapers which give expression to the views and wishes of this country, it is nevertheless one which is practically admitted by Government. Why else should Government show itself anxious to learn the views of the native newspapers? It is because Government desires to know what native newspapers say that a report on those papers is prepared and submitted every week to itself and its highest officers. How can it be said that Government pays no heed to the views expressed in the vernacular newspapers—when a fear of punishment is held out to the conductors of those papers, when they are hauled up before the law courts, when their favourable criticism pleases and their hostile criticism annoys the authorities? How can it be said that the rulers pay no heed to the opinions of the Native Press when Government finds it necessary to refer in Parliament to the support given by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to the income-tax, and to quote during the debate on the Consent Bill in the Indian Legislative Council the opinions of the few native newspapers which supported that measure? It is well known that Government pays greater attention to the writings of hostile newspapers than to those of friendly journals. This was particularly the case during the Consent Bill agitation. The fact is, it is the duty of the native newspapers to act as the advisers of Government, as it is the duty of the Government to listen to the advice which native newspapers give. Indeed, Government cannot do without these native newspapers, which represent the views of the great majority of the Indian population. As a matter of fact, all the officials of Government have to listen and do listen to what these papers say, although the fact may not be admitted for the sake of prestige. The influence of the vernacular newspapers, which seek to do good to the ruler and the ruled alike, is consequently increasing in this country.

And it is because the conductors of native newspapers feel convinced that by their writings they are doing a great service to both Government and the people, that they continue to do their self-imposed duty of advising the State. The ruler who does not accept the advice of such good counsellors incurs sin, and surely the adviser cannot be blamed if his advice is not accepted or acted upon. The *Bangavāsī* despondingly says that native newspapers are nobodies (see paragraph 54). But the *Bangavāsī* will surely admit that he has done, and is still doing, much service to his country. He served with great ability both the Government and the people during the Burdwan famine. Government, it is true, tried to make light of the accounts of distress published in the *Bangavāsī*, but it was obliged to adopt and carry out most of the suggestions made by that paper in connection with that famine. The *Bangavāsī* was mentioned in Parliament, and the Ministry found it necessary to attempt to throw discredit on its statements. It is also notorious that, though by passing the Consent Bill, Government maintained its *zid*, still it had to pay attention to the writings published in the *Bangavāsī* and other Hindu journals opposed to the measure. Nor can it be said that, because the opposition of the native newspapers is not always able to dissuade Government from its purpose of passing a law which it has resolved upon passing, their protests are therefore entirely useless. Many defects are removed from legislative measures in consequence of these protests. Even as regards the Chaukidari Bill which has been referred to in the *Bangavāsī*, are not the little improvements recently noticed in the measure all due to the criticisms which have appeared in the vernacular press? The power of the native newspapers is increasing and will go on increasing. There is no cause for despondency. Even if it is admitted for argument's sake that the native press has no influence with Government, nobody can deny that it exercises great influence over the people. Were it otherwise, the *Bangavāsī* would not now be serving 20,000 subscribers.

It is the function of the native newspapers to educate both Government and the people, and when they are trying their best to discharge this noble duty, they have no reason to feel depressed or despondent. The path before them is indeed beset with dangers and difficulties, and their present position is not just what they could desire it to be; still the thought that they are trying to do good both to the ruler and the ruled ought to encourage them to persevere in the task which they have set before themselves.

URIYA PAPERS.

URIYA AND
NAVASAMVAD,
June 29th, 1892.

61. The *Uriya and Navasamvād*, of the 29th June, is sorry that the steamers plying between Balasore and Cuttack via Coast Canal do not afford proper accommodation to passengers, oftentimes carry more than the assigned number of passengers, and are unable to carry all passengers in seasons of festivals.

UTKALDIPKA,
July 2nd, 1892.

62. The *Utkal Dipikā*, of the 2nd July, is sorry to learn from his Jajpur correspondent that the Munsif of that station compels all parties to suits in his court to engage the services of legal practitioners—a practice which is not sanctioned by any law.

UTKALDIPKA.

63. The same paper has reason to believe that cholera is decimating the people in large numbers in the Cuttack district, including the Cuttack town. The writer, therefore, advises the District and Local Boards to afford medical relief to the suffering poor.

UTKALDIPKA.

64. The same paper thanks the Collector of Cuttack for taking steps to relieve the sufferings of the starving poor, though in its opinion such steps ought to have been taken at an earlier stage of the distress, for a large number of deaths might have been thereby avoided. But the writer is surprised to find that the Collector of Puri is sceptical about the existence of distress in his district. The writer is strongly of opinion that cholera generally follows in the wake of starvation or semi-starvation.

UTKALDIPKA,
July 2nd, 1892.

65. The *Utkal Dipika*, of the 2nd July, attempts to expose certain irregularities in the practice and procedure of Settlement Officers in Orissa, and in corroboration of his statement cites a few of his personal experiences as follows:—

The editor had occasion to go to a village named Dikahitpara in pargana Asureswar in Cuttack district, where he learnt that an amin belonging to the Settlement Department had arrived to examine the *parchas* of the raiyats; that the amin was sometimes called muharrir and at other times kánungo; that, instead of going round the village, the Amin held his cutcherry in a *math* in a neighbouring village, and proclaimed in the village by beat of drum that the raiyats should appear before him with their *parchas*; that, as no particular dates were fixed for any particular raiyats, all of them had to appear before him unnecessarily for two or three days; that the names of those who could not attend were reported by the amin to Babu Haris Chandra Rai, an Assistant Settlement Officer, who fined them at the rate of 12 annas per head without hearing what they had to say in their behalf; that, when some of them objected to the fines imposed on them, they were asked to attach an 8-anna court-fee stamp to each of their petitions; and that among the men fined were, one blind and one old woman, one poor man who lived on alms given by other people, and some who were abroad on service or business.

The writer says that to fine people solely on the strength of the report of a poorly-paid amin is the surest way of tempting them to bribe that officer, and that it is illegal and improper to fine men without hearing what they have to say in their defence.

The editor further points out that the Settlement Department should not be allowed in this season to work in the interior, and thereby divert the attention of poor raiyats, who are now busily engaged in their fields, from the agricultural operations. He also observes that the theft of certain receipted bills from the Settlement Office at Cuttack and their encashment at the local treasury without detection does not speak well for the management of that office.

ASSAM PAPERS.

SILCHAR,
July 11th, 1892.

66. The *Silchar*, of the 11th July, has the following in an article headed, 'Is Bengal under English or under Mussulman rule?'—

"Very great oppression, unbearable oppression! We read of Siraj-ud-dowlah's oppressions in histories written by the English, but God alone knows whether the story of those oppressions is true or false. There

can, however, be no manner of doubt that it is an exceedingly exaggerated story. Be that as it may, Siraj-ud-dowlah's oppressions took place long ago, and in an uncivilized state of society. But in these present times, the Judicial Bench in each district is being brought into disrepute by lots of Siraj-ud-dowlah's, whose oppressions no historian is recording. When one hears of the acts of oppression committed by Mr. Nicholls, Judge of Benares, by Mr. Wheeler, Judge of Juanpore, by Messrs. Phillips and Hallifax of Mymensingh, one seems to forget, as it were, that one is living under English rule. One of these officers sentenced four or five innocent men to death; another passed a sentence without writing any judgment; a third made a Raja stand in the dock for nothing. What does all this mean? Is there no one to keep these men in check? Or are these men absolute rulers of the country? O Lieutenant-Governor, O Lord Lansdowne, you who represent the Maharani—are you asleep or are you simply simulating sleep? Lawlessness results from not punishing the guilty. And see how Mr. Phillips' inordinate pride is gradually increasing. It is Mr. Phillips' object to harass the Rajas and respectable men of our country. Some years ago, he greatly worried and harassed Raja Yogendra Nath Ray of Nator. If he had been punished then, he would not have dared to make his present exhibition in Mymensingh. His pride is continually increasing, and the wonder is that no one is putting him down."

67. The same paper has an article headed 'Bilati kindness' (or English kindness), of which the following is a translation:—

'Bilati kindness.'

"There are in this world none so kind-hearted as the English. The English feel so much for the sufferings of others, that the sorrowful face of even a real criminal moves them to pardon him. And though such pardon is granted only to their own countrymen, still this habit of pardoning can scarcely be regarded as a fault in their character. I pardon my younger brother, but that is no reason why I should also pardon a Naga or a Kuki who has really committed a crime. No, that will be neither possible nor reasonable. Neither social nor municipal law counsels such self-abnegation. The man who makes no distinction between relations and strangers, and looks upon all with equal eye, is deemed worthless in the political world, though in the world of the virtuous he may be thought a very praiseworthy man. The people of India are all mad, and the editors of (native) newspapers are madder than they. These latter are always raising the cry of injustice, but they raise that cry in vain. The cries of domesticated animals are heard with no other feeling than that of annoyance. And if the annoyance is too great to be borne, the result is such a reward as fell to the lot of the *Bangavási*. That no one will heed what the black Bengáli says is certain. Messrs. Kirkwood, Ramsay, Taylor, MacDonnell (and old books will yield many other names equally famous), Griffin, Nicholls, MacLeod, Wheeler, Phillips, Hallifax, and other big people have received more or less indulgence (at the hands of Government). But was indulgence given to them improperly? Were they not fit objects of Government's indulgence? Were they not of the same race and blood (as the heads of the Government)? They are fools who do not know what love for one's own race is. And as they do not know it, they ought not to clamour against the giving of such indulgence to such men. All the fingers in a man's hand are not of equal size, but no one therefore lops off any one or more of them. Why then do you advise others to do what you yourself cannot do? Who shall pay heed to such raving of yours? Just consider how very unjust and impertinent is your demand—here are men who have come over so many seas and so many rivers, leaving their wives, children, friends, and relations far behind them, to this barbarous country to make their livelihood, and what will be the good of their living at all, if they must not enjoy a little liberty—if they must not fulfil their wishes here?

Consider, also, the amount of trouble they have to undergo, in order to buy the liberty they enjoy and the waywardness they indulge in from time to time. The other day, seven big heroes lost their lives in the Manipur trouble. But did you come by any trouble yourself on account of Manipur? It brings one no good to wag one's tail lying like an idle cow. "He does no work, eats half as much more as any other man, annoys people all round with biting words," is a proverb in this country, the spirit of which surely dwells in these native critics.

SILCHAR,
Jul 11th, 1892.

Note, next, the very equal treatment (which is accorded to official delinquents and to oppressed people). The men of fame, whose names have been mentioned above, were punished with transfer after they had performed one or two of their exploits. Such punishment serves two good purposes—First, it gives rest for a time to harassed people, for with change of oppressive *Hakim*, oppression necessarily ceases for a time; secondly, in consequence of the transfer of an oppressive *Hakim* from one district to another, the pain and the misery of suffering oppression are distributed among all, instead of being confined among some. And, considering that happiness and misery are things that must come to men by rotation, it is not just that those who are the cause of both should be made to move from one place to another. We like this *Bilati* kindness—say what others may.”

SILCHAR,
July 11th, 1892.

68. The same paper approves of the reply which the Chief Commissioner of Assam has given to the representation which was addressed to him by the tea-planters of Cachar, and only asks him to see that coolies and boatmen get all their dues, and the practice of levying black-mail on mirasdars is stopped. The Government rate of remunerating coolies is sufficiently high. On one occasion the rate for coolies going to Manipur having been fixed at Rs. 15, many coolies from Sylhet voluntarily went there. In the opinion of the writer, the task of procuring coolies and boats should be entrusted to tahsildars or other high officers of Government.

CHUNDER NATH BOSE,
Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 30th July 1892.